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NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE SHIPMENT OF RELIEF SUPPLIES TO POLAND

MEMORANDA,

COPIES OF TELEGRAMS AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS
BETWEEN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND FOREIGN
GOVERNMENTS LOOKING TO AN AGREEMENT UNDER
WHICH RELIEF SUPPLIES MIGHT BE SHIPPED TO POLAND
TO BE DISTRIBUTED AMONG THE SUFFERING
INHABITANTS OF THAT COUNTRY



PRESENTED BY MR. SAULSBURY
AUGUST 30, 1916.—Ordered to be printed

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1916

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NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE SHIPMENT OF RELIEF SUPPLIES TO POLAND.

AUGUST 28, 1916.

For many months the department has been endeavoring to bring about an agreement between the various belligerent powers in Europe under which relief supplies might be shipped to Poland to be distributed among the suffering inhabitants of that country.

The recent developments and the present situation in this matter are as follows:

On May 22, 1916, the department received through the American ambassador at London a printed memorandum from the British foreign office stating the terms upon which the allied governments would permit and assist in furnishing transportation of supplies for the relief of the civilian population of Poland. This memorandum was as follows:

On the 21st of February last the United States ambassador communicated to Sir E. Gray a memorandum embodying the following proposals for affording relief to Poland:

"There are approximately 15,000,000 people in the German occupied eastern area, including Russian Poland and western Russia. Of this population, between 3,500,000 and 4,000,000 people are concentrated in or in the immediate neighborhood of the cities of Warsaw, Lodz, Schenchochow, Vilna, Kovno, and Bella Ettap.

"In order to handle the problem of provision from a practical point of view, and at the same time with proper safeguard as to all the international phases in the matter, the following basis is proposed:

"1. The American commission shall undertake the revictualing of the above-mentioned cities only.

"The German Government to undertake to furnish to the cities above mentioned a supply which will cover a ration of 400 grams of potatoes per diem per capita, 10 grams of salt, 10 grams of sugar, and 3 grams of tea.

"The American commission to import cereals to an amount which will afford a ration of 340 grams per diem per capita of wheat or beans, peas, rice, maize, also with 40 grams of fats per diem per capita, and a moderate amount of condensed milk for children.

"2. That the German Government shall undertake to revictual the whole of the balance of the population in the occupied territory.

"3. The German Government will undertake to devise financial means for the provision of gold exchange abroad to pay for the foodstuff purchased by the American commission. The allies to give necessary permits for these financial operations by the commission.

"4. The German Government will make the necessary arrangements to turn over to the commission sufficient German shipping to do the entire transportation from North America or other places to Danzig.

"5. The revictualing to last only until the 1st October, at which time the new harvest will take care of the entire civilian population.

"6. The German Government to undertake that there shall be no interference with the imported foodstuffs; that they will be consumed absolutely by the native civilian population; that the American commission will be furnished every facility for the control of the entire revictualing of the cities in question, including the German contribution to the ration.

"7. In order to carry out the above it will be necessary to import approximately 40,000 tons of foodstuffs per month. It is proposed that such portion of these foodstuffs as go to the well-to-do population should be sold, and in this particular the

German Government is prepared to give free railway transport over the occupied areas and one-half railway rates over the German State railroads. It is proposed to provision the destitute without cost.

"His Majesty's Government at once referred the question of principle involved in these proposals to the Russian Government, who have now accepted it. His Majesty's Government are accordingly prepared to agree to the immediate inauguration of the above arrangement, provided that the German and Austro-Hungarian Governments are prepared to give certain assurances. In assenting in principle to the grant of relief to a territory occupied by the enemy, in spite of the statements recently published by the German authorities that they are in reality able to relieve the Polish population unaided, His Majesty's Government feel that they have made a concession in return for which they have a right to demand that their enemies shall now at length place beyond doubt their intentions toward the populations of occupied territories whose treatment by them in the past has been so much at variance with the responsibilities of civilized warfare and the dictates of humanity. The assurances required are as follows:

"1. The scheme submitted by the United States ambassador relates only to that part of Russian Poland at present in the occupation of the German forces. His Majesty's Government consider it essential that any system of Polish relief should apply to Russian Poland as a whole, and they can not recognize the existing division into two spheres, occupied respectively by German and Austro-Hungarian troops. There must be a definite undertaking by the two Governments that the export from the whole of Russian Poland of all foodstuffs, native or imported, will be absolutely prohibited, and that any excess over domestic needs which may exist in the southern part under Austrian administration (which is understood to be self-supporting) will be employed exclusively for the provisioning of northern Poland, whether such foodstuffs are utilized to supply the towns under the care of the relief commission or the country districts to be revictualled by the German Government.

"2. It is understood from a document which has been communicated to His Majesty's Government by Mr. Walcott, of the Rockefeller Foundation, and of which a copy is annexed to this memorandum, that the German authorities in northern Poland undertake that all food supplies originating in Poland shall be used exclusively for the civil population and the constabulary. His Majesty's Government can not admit that the constabulary should be allowed to use native foodstuffs which have subsequently to be replaced by supplies imported by the relief commission. They must therefore request that in this respect the constabulary should be placed on the same footing as the occupying army.

"3. From the same document it appears that the German authorities wish to export from Poland any excess of the potato supply. As a result of the experience which they have gained in connection with Belgian relief, His Majesty's Government are most reluctant to agree to the exportation from Russian Poland of so-called excess supplies, since the question of what constitutes an excess is largely a matter of opinion. Nevertheless, in order not to prolong the negotiations, His Majesty's Government agree to the export of potatoes at such times and so long as, in the opinion of the neutral relief authorities, an excess supply in fact exists over and above the requirements of the whole of Russian Poland.

"4. The German vessels mentioned under paragraph 4 of Mr. Page's proposal must fly a neutral flag, be under the sole control of a neutral body to be agreed upon, be manned by neutrals, and be run entirely at the expense of the German authorities.

"5. It should be understood that the responsibility of the German Government is not ended by the supply of the partial ration mentioned in the above scheme of relief. His Majesty's Government can not undertake to allow the relief commission to import more than a minimum supplementary ration over and above the maximum which the enemy are in a position to supply at any given time.

"6. The neutral relief authorities in Poland must enjoy absolutely free and unfettered facilities for the communication to their London office of any data connected with their work. They must have every facility to satisfy themselves of the manner in which the undertakings of the German and Austro-Hungarian Governments are being carried out in all parts of Poland. It is, of course, understood that the 'German relief officer for the civil population' mentioned in the inclosed memorandum before alluded to shall have no control of any kind over and shall in no wise interfere with the complete discretion of the American commission or its representatives.

"7. The German and Austro-Hungarian Governments should undertake, as a part of the present arrangement, adequately to supply and care for the populations of Serbia, Albania, and Montenegro, all of which countries are now being reduced to a state of starvation through the removal or the use by the occupying forces of the supplies of native foodstuffs. The carrying out of this undertaking should be under the supervision of neutral subjects or organizations in those countries.

"His Majesty's Government trust that the above proposals, which represent merely the renouncement of indefensible practices and assurances for the due respect of the lives and rights of the population of occupied territories in the future, will meet with the prompt acceptance of the German and Austro-Hungarian Governments, so that the necessary preliminary arrangements may be made without delay.

"FOREIGN OFFICE, *May 10, 1916.*"

On May 24 the American ambassador at London notified the department that he had transmitted copies of this memorandum to the American ambassadors at Berlin and Vienna.

The department on May 24 notified the American ambassador at Berlin and the American ambassador at Vienna to deliver to the Governments to which they were respectively accredited a copy of this memorandum and to ascertain their attitude.

On May 31 the department received the following cablegram from the American ambassador at Berlin, stating the terms of the agreement which he thought Germany would make relative to relief supplies for Poland:

Have had conference to-day with Geheimrat Lewald, representing interior department; Geheimrat Grunewald, representing foreign office; Prince Lubecki, of Polish committee; and Donovan and Stoeber, of Rockefeller commission. Germany can not accept the proposition as made by England because, first, Germany can contract only as to Polish territory in her own control. However, in my opinion there is no doubt but arrangement similar to one outlined below can be made with Austria. Please note that all towns named are in territory occupied by Germany; second, Germany can not make question of relief of Poland dependent on Germany and Austria relieving Serbia, Montenegro, and Albania, since Germany is not in control of those countries.

I think an arrangement following lines can be made:

First. The arrangement to apply to all Polish territory occupied by Germany, commencing 50 kilometers back of firing line.

Second. Germany will give to inhabitants of cities to be relieved the ration proposed.

Third. Germany will undertake the remainder of population outside will be fed.

Fourth. It is necessary that occupying or police army of about 150,000 men be fed on food bought in Poland. These troops are sometimes 10 or 15 in a village, and difficulties of transport make this necessary.

Fifth. Proposition as to ships accepted.

Sixth. Germany will arrange to pay for goods wherever bought and their transport.

Seventh. Germany agrees to proposition that excess potatoes shall be exported only when commission agrees and that no food is to be exported from Poland and used except as above stated. Provisions as to details of control can be arranged. Germany is willing to accept control as stated in contract signed by Geheimrat Lewald, Dr. Bicknell, and me in April, 1915.

Will get details as to numbers of occupying police army and how many in towns and how many in country.

In a supplemental telegram, dated June 13, the American ambassador at Berlin reports that the foreign office has stated to him that the conditions proposed in the above-quoted telegram are entirely acceptable to the German Government.

On June 2 the department quoted by cablegram to the American ambassadors at London, Paris, and Petrograd, the cablegram received May 31 from the American ambassador at Berlin, and instructed them to ascertain and report as to the attitude of the Governments to which they were accredited on the position of the German Government relative to this matter.

On June 20 the department received a telegram from the American ambassador at Petrograd stating:

Just had audience with Sazonoff which requested June 6 concerning Poland relief. Delay caused by his absence. Declines passing on proposed plan before conferring

with allies. Furthermore, positively objects to 150,000 soldiers or anything near that number being maintained in Poland. Sent Dearing to Sazonoff's assistant during minister's absence June 10, but was told Sazonoff would pass on question himself.

On June 15 the American ambassador at London received the following note from the British Foreign Office, replying to the German counter proposals relative to relief work in Poland:

FOREIGN OFFICE,
June 15, 1916.

MY DEAR AMBASSADOR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of June 2 in which you are good enough to communicate the reply received from the German Government to the proposals of His Majesty's Government for the relief of Poland.

The phrase somewhat loosely used in this reply as to the arrangement being made "to apply to all Polish territory occupied by Germany commencing 50 kilometers back of the firing line" is, I suppose, intended to allude only to the responsibility assumed by the German Government to feed this area, and does not imply an attempt on the part of the German Government to extend the importations of foodstuffs to be made by the American commission to any other districts but the cities specified in the original proposal which you handed to me and in my reply. His Majesty's Government could not, of course, for a moment consider importations to other destinations besides those towns; but I do not know whether His Majesty's Government is to understand that the German Government intends to allow the population within 50 kilometers of the firing line to starve.

I do not think it is necessary at this point in the discussions to enter into any detailed analysis of the German reply, and I will confine myself to the two points of primary importance raised in it.

The German Government disclaims any responsibility for the relief of Serbia, Montenegro, and Albania on the ground that it is the Austro-Hungarian Government which is in control of those countries. I can not accept this disclaimer, knowing to what extent the policy of the central empires is controlled, by the German Government, and knowing that it is therefore not a question of the German Government exerting its "good offices" with the Austro-Hungarian Government, but of the two Governments jointly assuming a responsibility toward the population whose territory has been invaded by their joint armies. Nothing short of a binding engagement of this kind, which the central powers are perfectly able to give, can satisfy the Governments of the allies, who, in this matter, are only asking for the same measure of joint action on the part of their enemies which they themselves have already taken in their consultations and their decision upon this question of Polish relief.

The second point is, to my mind, of even greater importance. The German Government disclaims responsibility for the Polish territory occupied by Austria, on the ground that that territory is not within the sphere of Germany's control. The Governments of the allies regard Poland as a whole and they can not allow the fate of its population and the question of life and death, whether that population shall or shall not die of hunger, to be parceled out between Germany and Austria, each country claiming a part of Poland in connection with their political schemes for the future, and each disclaiming responsibility for the part occupied by the other. Until there is agreement between the Governments of the central empires to throw the resources of the whole country into one, and to give to the Poles, as Poles, the produce of the soil of their own country, the Governments of the allies can not move. This is a question of principle, but even were it not so, the conduct of the Austro-Hungarian Government, as it is developing at the present moment in southern Poland, would make it impossible for His Majesty's Government to leave that region out of account in the scheme of relief. I annex hereto a copy of an order issued by the Austrian governor general of Lublin which throws sufficient light on the methods of coercion and the intentions of exploitation which the Austrian Government are employing and cherishing.

For the rest, we must adhere to our original demands, which I still believe would be accepted as reasonable if the German and Austrian Governments were sincere, and I can only trust that the efforts of the United States representatives in enemy countries and of the representatives of the American relief organizations will soon elicit a more satisfactory reply from the Governments of the central empires.

Believe me, my dear ambassador,

Yours, sincerely,

— — — — —

The royal imperial and military governor general of Lublin has published the following announcement:

"In May, when the spring work in the fields will be practically completed, the military administration will begin work within the territory administered by it, on the building of roads and on the Vistula. Numerous laborers will be used for this purpose. The military administration will summon them from among the local population, and form them into labor detachments, each of which will be employed as far as possible within its own village or its neighborhood. It will, however, be impossible to avoid the employment of some detachments in other districts of the Government than their own. It is, however, to be clearly understood that all labor detachments will be used exclusively within the territory of the Government of Poland in Austro-Hungarian occupation. As need may arise, all men fit for work will be called upon. The only exception will be those to whom the district authorities may grant exemption in consideration of their profession or for other weighty reasons, in accordance with instructions issued to them. In case of need also women will be employed, provided they come forward of their free will. The workmen will be properly paid and fed.

"The attention of the population is hereby drawn in advance to the forthcoming order, and to its purpose, so that no one should give credence to false rumors. As work is concerned which will be of considerable economic advantage to the entire country, and in connection with which each particular workman will find a sufficient livelihood to maintain himself and his family, the military administration expects that all men fit for work will apply in their own well-understood interest for inclusion in the labor detachments, and will in that way avoid compulsory orders. The intended works are unavoidably necessary from the military point of view, and must be carried out in any case. The military administration hopes that it will not be necessary to use compulsion.

"For the Governor General:

"LUBLIN, April 26, 1916."

"DIETRICHSTEIN, Major General.

On July 5 the department instructed the American ambassador at Berlin by cable to present the substance of this note to the German Government and to attempt to ascertain its attitude relative thereto.

The department received no reply to the cablegram sent to the American ambassador at Paris relative to the German counterproposals.

On June 17 the department received a cablegram from the American ambassador at Vienna, in reply to its telegram of May 24, stating that the Austrian under secretary of foreign affairs had promised to hasten reply of the military authorities on whole question of relief in Poland, Serbia, Montenegro, and Albania.

On July 7 the department sent the following telegram to the American ambassadors at London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and Petrograd:

Inform Government to which you are accredited that since the United States for many months, at the request of the various belligerent powers, has been acting as intermediary in the negotiations between the belligerents relative to a proposed agreement as to the terms under which relief supplies may be introduced into Poland and distributed therein, and since all the negotiations have so far failed to result in any agreement which could bring about the desired result, although all the countries interested have manifested a willingness to permit relief supplies to be sent to Poland under certain specified conditions, the United States therefore, in the name and interests of humanity, now appeals to all the belligerent countries to consider whether it is not possible for the powers on each side to make such mutual concessions in the terms proposed by them for the regulation of shipments of relief supplies into Poland as will make it possible for an agreement to be reached under which relief can be given to the suffering inhabitants of Poland. The United States is instructing its ambassadors to Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, and Russia to communicate this message to the Government to which they are respectively accredited.

On July 20 the President supplemented the department's appeal of July 7 by sending a personal letter to the King of England, President of France, Emperor of Russia, Emperor of Germany, and

Emperor of Austria, appealing to each of them to use his personal efforts toward the securing of some agreement between the belligerents which would permit the shipment of food supplies to Poland.

A copy of the letter to the King of England was as follows:

JULY 20, 1916.

YOUR MAJESTY: In view of the overwhelming disasters which have befallen the millions of noncombatant inhabitants of Poland, I feel justified by the universal and earnest expression of the sympathies of the American people, regardless of racial origin or political sentiments, to suggest to Your Majesty that the subject of ways and means for the saving of those of these people who still survive be given the further benevolent consideration of Your Majesty's Government. While no one can fail to appreciate the sufferings and sacrifices of the peoples primarily engaged in the existing war, nor the difficulties in the way of alleviating the hardships of those who are the incidental sufferers from the war, the death by slow or rapid starvation of millions of innocent people is so awful a fact that such an outcome should be averted if it is within the compass of human effort to avert it. In the effort to avert it I confidently pledge the cooperation of the people of the United States, if only the way can be found to make their cooperation effective. May I therefore be permitted to suggest that an entirely fresh consideration be given to the possibility and method of relief for Poland, and to tender the friendly offices of this Government in negotiations to this end, it being understood that any plan proposed shall be of such a character as to be adapted to the accomplishment of no other result than that of the relief of the distressed inhabitants of Poland. In conclusion I can only add that it is my sincere hope that Your Majesty will see in this note no intention to interfere with the rights and policies of Your Majesty's Government, but merely the attempt to express to Your Majesty the sympathy and compassion toward the starving inhabitants of Poland felt by the citizens of the United States—a sympathy and compassion which they do not desire shall be evidenced merely by idle words, but which they hope they may be permitted to express by assisting in the actual work of furnishing food to the starving inhabitants of Poland.

I have the honor to be, Your Majesty, faithfully, yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

The letters sent to the President of France, Emperor of Russia, Emperor of Germany, and Emperor of Austria were identical with the one sent to the King of England, except for the necessary change of title.

On July 11, 1916, Congressman Thomas Gallagher, of Illinois, introduced the following resolution in the House of Representatives approving of the department's action in sending its telegram of July 7:

[H. Res. 360, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session.]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

JULY 11, 1916.

MR. GALLAGHER submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed.

RESOLUTION.

Whereas the suffering and distress of the inhabitants of Poland have continued for many months on account of the inability of the various belligerent European powers to agree upon the terms under which relief supplies may be sent to and distributed among these unfortunate and starving people; and

Whereas on July seventh, nineteen hundred and sixteen, at my suggestion, the State Department sent a circular cablegram relating to this subject, a copy of which is hereto annexed, to the American ambassadors in Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, and Russia, to be transmitted to the Governments to which they are respectively accredited, with the hope that it might result in an agreement being reached under which the existing conditions in Poland might be alleviated: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this body declare its approval of this action of the State Department in thus petitioning the Governments of the aforesaid countries to make such mutual concessions as will remedy the indescribable conditions of suffering in Poland.

COPY OF CIRCULAR CABLEGRAM SENT BY STATE DEPARTMENT ON JULY 7, 1916.

Inform Government to which you are accredited that since the United States for many months, at the request of the various belligerent powers, has been acting as intermediary in the negotiations between the belligerents relative to a proposed agreement as to the terms under which relief supplies may be introduced into Poland and distributed therein, and since all the negotiations have so far failed to result in any agreement which could bring about the desired result, although all the countries interested have manifested a willingness to permit relief supplies to be sent to Poland under certain specified conditions, the United States therefore, in the name and interests of humanity, now appeals to all the belligerent countries to consider whether it is not possible for the powers on each side to make such mutual concessions in the terms proposed by them for the regulations of shipments of relief supplies into Poland as will make it possible for an agreement to be reached under which relief can be given to the suffering inhabitants of Poland. The United States is instructing its ambassadors to Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, and Russia to communicate this message to the Government to which they are respectively accredited.

(Signed) POLK, Acting.

The replies which the department has received from the various belligerents to the department's telegram of July 7 are shown in the following telegrams and dispatches received by the department from its diplomatic representatives in the various belligerent countries:

LONDON, July 27, 1916.

SECRETARY OF STATE, Washington:

Following is text of note just received from foreign office:

"JULY 26.

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's communication of July 8, in which you are good enough to lay before His Majesty's Government an appeal to all belligerent Governments to come to an agreement for the relief of Poland.

"His Majesty's Government desire to settle once and for all the whole question of importations of foodstuffs into territory in the occupation of the enemy. They therefore make the following final proposal: If the German and Austro-Hungarian Governments will reserve wholly to the civil populations of the territories which their armies have occupied, viz, Belgium, northern France, Poland, Serbia, Montenegro, and Albania, the entire produce of the soil, all live stock, and all stocks of food, fodder, or fertilizers in those territories, if they will admit to those territories neutrals selected by the President of the United States with full powers to control the distribution of food to the whole population and to transfer when necessary and possible from one territory to another surplus stocks existing in the one and lacking in the other, and if the President of the United States will undertake the selection of these neutral agents, His Majesty's Government will, on their part, give them every assistance in their power and will admit into such territories imported food supplies necessary to supplement native stocks and to afford to the populations a fair subsistence ration so long as they are satisfied that their enemies are scrupulously observing their part of the agreement.

"If this offer is refused, or if the German and Austro-Hungarian Governments do not reply before the harvest in the occupied territory begins to be gathered, but continue to refrain from stating officially for the information of the allied Governments their exact attitude in regard to these questions of relief, His Majesty's Government will hold them responsible and will exact from them such reparation as can be secured by the allied arms or enforced by the public opinion of the neutral world for every civilian life lost though insufficient nourishment in every territory occupied by the armies of the central powers.

"It is obvious that if this proposal is to be put into operation successfully, no time must be lost. The new harvest will shortly be gathered, and for the plan to be of any advantage to the populations of the occupied territories, the fruits of the harvest must be placed in neutral control before they have been appropriated for the use of the subjects of Germany and Austria-Hungary."

PAGE.

PARIS, *July 28, 1916.*

SECRETARY OF STATE,

Washington.

Minister for foreign affairs in answer my notes based on your June 2 and circular telegram July 7 states that French Government as well as allies are most desirous of aiding the suffering population of Poland, and that proposals to that end have been made by Great Britain at the request of the allies to the American ambassador at London. However, attitude adopted by enemy Governments has so far not permitted adoption of these projects. Nevertheless allies through British Government are communicating to the Government of the United States a new proposal on the subject in hopes of overcoming the difficulties which have opposed the organization of relief. Monsieur Briand requests me to inform you that this communication from the British Government should be considered as a reply of the French Government to my said notes.

This answer from the French Government appears to have been drawn up before the receipt of the President's letter communicated to foreign office on July 25.

SHARP.

BERLIN, *July 29, 1916.*

SECRETARY OF STATE,

Washington.

Department's circular July 7.

Foreign office replies as follows:

"From the very beginning the imperial Government declared its readiness to offer its assistance in order that the distress apparent in those parts of Russia which are occupied by German troops and systematically wasted and deprived of all victuals for the use of the remaining inhabitants by the retreating Russian hosts be eased by the relief work of the United States of America, which is organized on such a great scale. The imperial Government has particularly offered all guarantees consistent with the requirements of war that the imported foodstuffs will only serve the needs of the population of the territory occupied. Accordingly the American relief might have been realized several months ago with the same provisions as in northern France had not the Government of Great Britain prevented its accomplishment by clinging to its unfounded and impracticable conditions. In this way it has become practically impossible to convey a considerable amount of foodstuffs from America to Poland by the expiration of the term set, as the end of the relief work is October 1. According further negotiations are devoid of purpose. But on the other hand, thanks to the intense culture of the land effected by the imperial Government by using all the means available and every effort possible in the occupied territory, and owing to the favorable harvests prospects, a relief action after October 1, 1916, can apparently be dispensed with. The fact that the population of Poland and Lithuania will to some extent suffer until the new crop is lodged and later on will sometimes have to put up with straightened circumstances can therefore not be laid to the blame of the imperial Government but to that of Great Britain."

GERARD.

VIENNA, *August 7, 1916.*SECRETARY OF STATE, *Washington:*

Ministry for foreign affairs reply as follows to letter from President to Emperor provisionally, communicated telegraphically:

"Reply will be transmitted subsequence to arrival of original letter: in the meantime minister for foreign affairs notifies ambassador for tentative information that Austro-Hungarian military authorities cherish lively interest in any measures tending to help population of occupied territories lacking provisions and promote as far as possible any effort arrive international agreement for provisioning same. The military authorities would obligate themselves not to remove supplies from occupied territory in manner and quantity that subsistence of population would be jeopardized. They would be prepared guarantee any provisions supplied by neutral countries would accrue to benefit of inhabitants of occupied territories and used for no other purpose.

"However, guarantee that other products respective territories will not be used in interior could not be given by authorities. Exactly out of these humanitarian considerations which prompt American relief action, it appears impracticable to the military authorities to prohibit exportation agricultural products from occupied territory; for if traffic between such territories were now stopped (?) inhabitants of Poland always dependent upon export of agrarian products would be most sensibly

affected thereby and hindered in providing those articles of necessity which they are accustomed to draw from interior and which must be charitably provided.

"Under these conditions Austro-Hungarian military would gladly consider any suggestions regarding provisioning of Poland, and awaits with interest the proposals of American Government in this regard."

PENFIELD.

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Petrograd, July 25, 1916.

The honorable the SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington.

SIR: On receipt of your circular of July 7, concerning the relief of Poland, directing that Russia be requested to effect an immediate arrangement with England, France, Germany, and Austria which would admit of relief being extended to Poland from America, I asked an audience with M. Sazonoff, of which you have been advised in previous dispatches. On the return of M. Sazonoff from the front, July 13, I called at the foreign office and asked if any progress had been made toward complying with the above-mentioned request. He replied that it had just come to his attention and would be attended to promptly. The following day, July 14, he left for Finland, having told me he was broken down and needed a rest. The foreign office has made no further reply to that telegram up to this writing. The announcement of M. Sazonoff's resignation in the papers of Sunday morning, July 23, removes all probability of any further information from him on that subject. The new foreign minister, Mr. Sturmer, will not be installed until next Thursday. It is probable that the letter of the President to the Emperor on the same subject will forestall any action by the department.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

DAVID R. FRANCIS.

Replies have not yet been received to the personal letters sent by the President to the King of England, President of France, Emperor of Russia, Emperor of Germany, and Emperor of Austria.

It thus appears that both the allies and the central powers have made propositions as to the terms under which relief supplies may be sent to Poland; that there are important differences in the terms of the two proposals; and that the State Department is endeavoring to induce the allies and the central powers to agree upon some plan which will permit the sending of relief supplies to Poland.

No further action can be taken by the State Department until the receipt of the replies to the President's letters.



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